

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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CIAE-00 /026 W

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
USUN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 04028

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y USUN ADDED

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: VANCE-OWEN MEETING MORNING, APRIL 14

1. SUMMARY: SECRETARY VANCE AND OWEN DECIDED MORNING
APRIL 14 THAT GOAL OF DAR ES SALAAM MEETING IS TO GAIN
PF AGREEMENT ON ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF ANGLO-AMERICAN
PROPOSALS (AAP), WHICH COULD THEN BE USED TO MODERATE
SALISBURY GROUP'S HARD LINE AGAINST FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS
WITH THE PF. OWEN REPEATEDLY STRESSED THAT FRONT
LINE AND OTHERS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT AAP CANNOT BE
IMPOSED BY UK/US ON GROUP. ACCORDINGLY, OWEN
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REPEATED UK POSITION AGAINST BINDING AGREEMENTS ON DETAILS
WITH THE PF WHICH MIGHT LATER HAVE TO BE BROKEN
AT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING. UPPERMOST IN OWEN'S MIND IS DESIRE
NOT TO LIMIT OPTIONS AND FLEXIBILITY OF UK/US IN CASE PARTIES
THEMSELVES (NOTABLY NKOMO AND SMITH) ARE ABLE TO WORK
OUT A DEAL OUTSIDE BOUNDS OF AAP. END SUMMARY.

2. SECRETARY VANCE AND OWEN MET ALONE BRIEFLY AT AMBASSADOR SPAIN'S RESIDENCE MORNING APRIL 14 AND WERE THEN JOINED BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG, LORD CARVER AND MEMBERS OF RESPECTIVE DELEGATIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS.

3. OWEN BEGAN GROUP DISCUSSIONS BY NOTING THAT AN IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF DAR MEETINGS MUST BE TO CONVEY TO PF AND FL UNDERSTANDING THAT THE AAP IS AN OUTLINE FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, THAT WHOLE RANGE OF DETAILS, INCLUDING CEASE FIRE, MUST BE NEGOTIATED AMONG THE PARTIES AND THAT THERE CAN BE NO IMPOSITION OF THE AAP ON THE SALISBURY GROUP. HE SAID THAT FL IS "HANKERING" FOR AGREEMENTS IN DAR WHICH COULD BE IMPOSED UPON OTHERS AND THIS MUST BE COUNTERACTED. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT WE WOULD LOSE FL SUPPORT IF WE ADOPTED POSITION OF SIMPLE ARBITER BETWEEN THE PARTIES WITHOUT ADVANCING OUR OWN PROPOSALS. WE MUST WALK A THIN LINE TO GET THE PF MORE ON BOARD THE AAP, BUT WITHOUT SETTING IN CONCRETE AGREEMENTS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE BROKEN UP WITH "PNEUMATIC DRILLS" AT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING. IN RESPONSE TO INEVITABLE PF QUESTION, WE WILL SAY THAT ANYTHING WE AGREE TO HERE MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH AAP AND THAT WE WILL SUPPORT IT AT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING. HOWEVER, WE CANNOT AGREE TO BE "LOCKED IN WITHOUT FLEXIBILITY."

3. SECRETARY VANCE AGREED WITH OWEN'S APPROACH, NOTING THE IMPORTANCE OF LEAVING DAR HAVING CREATED A SENSE CONFIDENTIAL

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OF PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH AGREEMENTS ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES WITH THE PF. THERE ENSUED DISCUSSION ON WHAT THESE PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE AND HOW TO STRUCTURE THE NEGOTIATING SCENARIO WITH THE PF, OWEN NOTED THAT WE SHOULD PLAN OUR DAR CONVERSATIONS KEEPING IN MIND THE ISSUES THAT ARE OF MOST CONCERN TO THE SALISBURY GROUP. HE IDENTIFIED TWO, THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND OUR PROPOSED MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS "BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES" AS PARTICULARLY UPSETTING TO THE SALISBURY GROUP. LOW AND GRAHAM ADDED THE UN ROLE AS ANOTHER MAJOR ISSUE. IN REFLECTING ON THESE SALISBURY CONCERNS OWEN ELABORATED ON POSSIBLE NEW APPROACHES WHICH MIGHT FORM THE BASIS OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. IN DOING SO, HE PRESSED HIS POINT THAT WE SHOULD NOT COMMIT OURSELVES TO FIRM AGREEMENTS HERE THAT WOULD LIMIT OUR FLEXIBILITY TO ACCEPT A SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES, NOT IN TOTAL ACCORD WITH THE AAP. HE NOTED THAT "WE ARE ALL ADULTS-- WE KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON," IN AN APPARENT ALLUSION TO CONTINUING SMITH-NKOMO CONTACTS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 SECTO 04028

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (USUN NEW YORK ADDED AS INFO ADDEE)

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

4. DURING DISCUSSION OF ROLE OF UN AMBASSADOR YOUNG
SAID THAT THERE COULD BE NO SETTLEMENT WITHOUT A UN
FORCE: "IT WOULD BE SUICIDE FOR US." OWEN DOUBTED
THAT A UN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE WOULD BE NEEDED UNDER
ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT AGREED THAT SOME UN PRESENCE IF ONLY
TO OBSERVE ELECTIONS, IS MANDATORY AND THAT WE
COULD NOT BACK OFF ON QUESTION OF A UN ROLE OF SOME
SORT. UN INVOLVEMENT IS NECESSARY TO GET INTERNATIONAL
ACCEPTABILITY FOR A SETTLEMENT AND OUR ABILITY TO FACILITATE
UN ACCEPTANCE SHOULD BE BIGGEST SELLING POINT FOR CONTINUED
COOPERATION WITH UK/US SETTLEMENT EFFORT IN SALISBURY. GRAHAM
AND LOW NOTED THAT THE SALISBURY GROUP WAS PARTICULARLY
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ADAMANT IN ITS LOATHING FOR ALL THINGS UN. THIS WAS
EXACERBATED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S REFUSAL TO ALLOW

MUZOREWA TO SPEAK. LOW ARGUED THAT PREM CHAND'S PRESENCE IN SALISBURY WOULD BE LIKE WAVING A RED FLAG. HOWEVER, OWEN SAID THAT THAT WALDHEIM HAD TOLD CHAND THAT HE COULD GO TO SALISBURY, IF THE FL DO NOT OBJECT. AMB. YOUNG ASSERTED THAT CHAND'S PERSONALITY AND PRESTIGE AS A CIVIL SERVANT WOULD DIMINISH OPPOSITION TO HIM. GRAHAM AND LOW DISAGREED, BUT IT WAS LEFT THAT CHAND WOULD PROBABLY GO ON TO SALISBURY, IF HE WANTED.

5. DISCUSSION ON THE ROLE OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FOCUSED ON HIS AUTHORITY OVER POLICE AND MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS. LORD CARVER REPEATED THAT THERE COULD BE NO GIVE ON HIS POSITION THAT HE COULD NOT MAKE CHANGES IN THE POLICE BEFORE HE HAD APPOINTED A NEW COMMISSIONER OF POLICE. HE SPECIFICALLY REPEATED THIS WHEN EDMONDSON ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF DISBANDING THE PARA-MILITARY POLICE SUPPORT UNITS. OWEN NOTED THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PARTIES THEMSELVES COULD COME TO AGREEMENT ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE MILITARY FORCE, BUT THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES COULD A BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BECOME INVOLVED IN A SITUATION IN WHICH SOME GUERRILLAS WERE LEFT ARMED AND OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY, NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE RC AS A GUARANTEE EXACTED BY THE PF (MEANING NKOMO) AS PRICE FOR SETTLEMENT. IN RELATION TO OWEN'S MENTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A NON-UK TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATOR LAKE SUGGESTED THAT WE USE THE TERM RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND NEUTRAL ADMINISTRATOR INTERCHANGEABLY AND NOT REFER ONLY TO THE LATTER, LEST THIS RAISE PF AND FL APPREHENSIONS ABOUT OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM SUPPORT OF THE AAP. OWEN AGREED, THOUGH LORD CARVER NOTED OBVIOUS DISTINCTION

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BETWEEN RC ACTING AS AGENT OF HMG AND NEUTRAL ADMINISTRATOR OPERATING ONLY AS CHAIRMAN OF GOVERNING COUNCIL OR WITH ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AGREED TO BY THE PARTIES.

6. THE SECRETARIES AGREED THAT WE WOULD MAINTAIN OUR POSITION ON COMPOSITION OF GOVERNING COUNCIL DESPITE FACT THAT THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PF. AT BEST, PF WOULD ARGUE FOR AT LEAST A 50-50 DIVISION OF REPRESENTATION BETWEEN ITSELF AND THE SALISBURY GROUP. OWEN, NOTING THAT IN THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL KEEPS POWER OVER THE MILITARY, SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL BEING GRANTED THE SAME AUTHORITY IF SUCH IS AGREED TO BY ALL THE PARTIES IN FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

7. OWEN SAID THAT HE WAS VERY RELAXED ABOUT HOW TO STRUCTURE THE MEETING WITH THE PF, SCHEDULED FOR 4 P.M. TODAY, AND THOUGHT THAT WE MIGHT BEGIN BY ASKING WHAT THEY WANTED TO TALK ABOUT.

IT WAS FURTHER DECIDED THAT IN RAISING ISSUES WE WOULD FIRST
TALK ABOUT THE UN PRESENCE, THEN PROCEED TO THE COMPOSITION
AND ROLE OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL, AND THEN ONTO THE ROLE OF
THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER/NEUTRAL ADMINISTRATOR.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 SECTO 04028

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y USUN ADDED

8. SECRETARY VANCE NOTED THAT HE WOULD STRESS IN HIS MEETING
WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE, WHICH FOLLOWED IMMEDIATELY UPON THE
US/UK MORNING DISCUSSION, THE FAVORABLE EFFECT THERE WOULD BE
IN SALISBURY AND ELSEWHERE TO PUBLIC AGREEMENT WITH THE
PF ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES RELATING TO AMNESTY, THE POLICE UN
PRESENCE, GOVERNING COUNCIL AND THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL PARTIES
IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS. THE SECRETARY NOTED HE WOULD STAY AWAY
FROM THE QUESTION OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S POWERS UNLESS
PRESIDENT NYERERE RAISED IT. HE ALSO NOTED THAT HE INTENDED
TO HOLD THE FL TO THEIR LAGOS PROMISE TO OBTAIN A PF PUBLIC
STATEMENT AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING.

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9. IN DISCUSSING THE SALISBURY AND ALL-PARTIES TALKS OWEN NOTED A RECENT STATEMENT BY MUZOREWA'S REPRESENTATIVE IN SCANDINAVIA AND DAVID SMITH'S COMMENTS IN SALISBURY TO LOW AND GRAHAM WHICH INDICATE THAT THERE MIGHT BE MORE FLEXIBILITY IN THE SALISBURY POSITION THAN WAS APPARENT INDICATED IN THE FORMAL LOW-GRAHAM MEETING WITH THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES. IT IS AN IRONY OF HISTORY, NOTED OWEN, THAT IAN SMITH IS PROBABLY NOW MORE FLEXIBLE ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PF THAN HIS AFRICAN ASSOCIATES. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE SALISBURY GROUP WANTS TO FLEX ITS MUSCLES AND ESTABLISH ITS POSITION OF POWER BEFORE EVEN CONSIDERING NEGOTIATIONS. OWEN POINTED OUT THAT WE ARE ON THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA; IT IS REALLY TOO EARLY TO EXPECT THE SALISBURY GROUP TO ACT ON FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, BUT WE MUST NEVERTHELESS TRY TO CONVINCE THEM IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN OUR CREDIBILITY WITH THE FL. HE NOTED THAT IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT TO MAKE A STRONG DEMARCHE TO THE SALISBURY GROUP AND TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL "CROSSES THE RUBICON" AND ORDERS RAIDS INTO ZAMBIA WHICH MIGHT TRIGGER CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. OWEN SAID HE WOULD NOT OBJECT TO GOING DIRECTLY TO CAPE TOWN TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERNS TO VORSTER HIMSELF IN ORDER TO WAKE SALISBURY AND SOUTH AFRICA UP TO THE GREAT DANGER OF CUBAN INVOLVEMENT, WHETHER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS WORKING OUT OR NOT.

10. IN RELATION TO THE SITE OF AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING, OWEN EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR RHODESIA AND THINKS THAT NKOMO COULD BE MADE TO SEE ADVANTAGES FOR HIM IN THAT VENUE. FAILING THAT, THE TALKS SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT LIVINGSTONE VICTORIA FALLS IN ORDER TO GET NEGOTIATIONS "INTO A RHODESIAN CONTEXT."

11. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT POINT OF DIFFERENCE IN VANCE-OWEN MEETING EMERGED OVER DISCUSSION OF OBSERVERS' ROLE. OWEN REPEATED HIS CONCERN THAT WE SHOULD NOT SET PRECEDENT AT THIS

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MEETING WHICH WE MIGHT HAVE TO LIVE WITH AT AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE. HE WANTS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE OBSERVERS ARE HERE AT INVITATION OF THE PF AND THE TANZANIANS, AND EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN ABOUT THE MOZAMBIKAN OBJECTION TO THE PRESENCE OF THE NIGERIANS. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE SHOULD NOT MAKE AN ISSUE OF THE OBSERVERS, LET THEM SIT WHERE THEY WANTED, BUT NOT AT THE TABLE ITSELF. HE AGREED WITH OWEN THAT THEY SHOULD NOT SPEAK DURING THE MEETINGS. THE SECRETARY ARGUED FOR FLEXIBILITY AND REJECTED OWEN'S REQUEST THAT WE REACH A DECISION NOW ON NOT HAVING

OBSERVERS AT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING. HE AND OWEN THEN AGREED
THAT THE MATTER OF OBSERVERS AT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING SHOULD
BE LEFT OPEN, AND, OF COURSE WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED WITH
THE SALISBURY PARTICIPANTS IN ANY EVENT, IF SUCH A MEETING
LOOKED LIKE A REAL POSSIBILITY.

VANCE

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